COMMUNISM: The Ideology Fades — The Threat Remains

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The Ideology Fades — The Threat Remains



AMERICANISM EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE FREEDOM CENTER, P.O. BOX 5986 BUENA PARK, CALIFORNIA 90622 PHONE: (714) 828-5040

Our Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the Americanism Educational League is to conduct a sustained campaign of public education to:

- Promote Constitutional principles, advocating a significant and permanent reduction in the size and power of Government at all levels; and fight government waste and corruption, wherever found;
- Advance the private enterprise system and increase individual responsibility;
- Protect the freedom and security of each citizen from both external and internal threats (a) by working for strong national defense; (b) by exposing Communist and Socialist fallacies; (c) by supporting firm crime control and exposing the dangers of drug abuse; and (d) by improving the quality of American Education;
- Encourage the renewal of those moral and spiritual values that guided our Founding Fathers in the establishment of this Republic.

— As adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Americanism Educational League

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Dedication

Dedicated to two gracious ladies — T.V. and J.H. — and to the Trustees of Americanism Educational League who made this publication possible.

Foreword

As incredible changes swept Eastern and Central Europe in late 1989 and well into 1990, the Trustees of the Americanism Educational League feel strongly that as a 63-year-old patriotic society, A.E.L. should develop and circulate a significant analysis of the momentous events in the Communist world and why they are occurring.

This publication is intended as a Freedom Document, pointing out the fallacies of Communism and Socialism . . . interpreting current events and predicting nearterm geo-political trends. The six authors whose views we present here have impeccable credentials as to knowledge, background and personal contacts . . . and they write from a patriotic, pro-American viewpoint.

Our authors feel, and A.E.L. agrees, that the "peace dividend" is an illusion based on wishful thinking... that the rush to disarm is premature at best, suicidal at worst... and that only time will tell whether the changes in Europe are real and permanent or a false liberation staged to gain Western financial support and credits, relaxed trade barriers, our high technology and a drastic reduction in national defense capabilities by the countries of the Free World.

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End of the Cold War? The Need for Skepticism BY DR. HERBERT LONDON



HERBERT I. LONDON

Herbert London is Dean of New York University's Gallatin Division, which he created in 1972, serving as Dean since that time. A graduate of Columbia University with a Ph.D. from New York University, Dr. London is a noted social critic whose work has appeared in every major newspaper and journal in the country. He is the author of 13 books, including "Myths That Rule America" and a television program of the same name. He writes a public affairs newspaper column for the Copley Syndicate and a regular column for Defense Science Magazine. In 1989. Dean London was one of the Republican candidates for Mayor of New York City.

When did communism fail and why is this failure evident at the moment? These questions are at the forefront of public debate. What they illustrate is a worldwide fascination with the manifest liberalization of governments in Eastern Europe and to some degree the frank admission of failure by Soviet leaders.

The matter of when a system fails presupposes a moment when the system worked. Yet communism has never worked, despite grandiose claims about the emergence of a utopian social order. Communism failed in 1905; it failed in 1917; and it failed between the moment of conception and the present. In fact, the seeds of failure are inherent in a philosophy so truly at odds with human imperatives.

Communism could maintain order, not through the assertion of public approval but through the imposition of a police state and an all-powerful party. As Lenin noted, the evolutionary suppositions of the historical dialectic could be superseded by a party representing the "general will" with the requisite police authority to protect the party's hegemony.

If events in Eastern Europe prove anything at all, it is the fragility of communism once the police apparatus that buttresses the party is restrained. The key event in the revolution of 1989-90 was Gorbachev's decision to maintain a leash on his forces. A refusal to help Honecker in East Germany and Ceausescu in Romania indicated in unequivocal terms his determination to alter the Communist parties of Eastern Europe.

If the history of communism in this century is written with an eye to the question of how these East European governments remained in power, the title of the book would most likely be the "management of failure." It is evident to anyone who has lived under communism that nothing in these Marxist states works. People don't work because they aren't paid very much; goods aren't produced because there isn't a price structure, and morale is invariably low because the police determine the character of the state.

Despite this evident reality, self-styled Marxists living in the luxury capitalism produces excoriate the United States which provides them with a congenial environment in which to exercise their misguided ideas. Perhaps the only sanctuary left for communist ideology is American colleges and universities. Since the liberalization movement began in earnest I have heard campus communists contend that the old socialism of Eastern Europe is dying and a new socialism will be born. It is astonishing that at the moment East Europeans repudiate communism and call for free markets, free elections and democratic institutions, American Marxists find a silver lining in these conditions. From a psychological standpoint this is a classic case of denial, an unwillingness to confront the reality of a failed idea.

For communists there is always the utopia, the endpoint of the historical dialectic. Since capitalism is immature in Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union, the only real test for socialism is in the United States. Yet even here where socialist experiments are legion, there aren't examples of success. That hardly matters since homegrown communists compare the flaws in capitalism's reality to the promise of communism's utopia. Whenever reality meets a vision, the vision triumphs.

For those who have experienced the dictatorship often explained as the necessary requisite for the coming of utopia, there isn't any need to argue that the means don't justify the ends and, in fact, that the end itself is a chimera. In this sense the events in Eastern Europe have put to a close the possibility that communist ideology has merit. Even communists regard their philosophy with derision.

Nonetheless, the form of socialism has influenced Soviet people in ways that are only now apparent with the internal discussion of a market economy. After more than 70 years of acculturation the Soviet people can be little more than products of socialism. This condition more than any other factor holds the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, its former Eastern European client states back from economic development.

The Soviet people are products of a utopian fantasy. As a consequence they want the fruits of capitalism, but cannot adjust to the prerequisites of capitalism, i.e. individualism, private initiate, social stratification, hard work and institutional loyalty. What most advisers ignore and what Soviet leaders don't want to hear is that economic reform cannot occur without significant cultural change. Socialism will not only have to collapse as an ideology; it will have to collapse as a system. There isn't any way to revive an economic system that is so thoroughly moribund.

The citizens of a new Soviet entity, indeed the new national entities emerging in Eastern Europe, will have to learn about a culture of differential rewards for productive work. While capitalism may produce greed as one of its outcomes, socialism promotes envy and a radical egalitarianism that invariably stifles financial rewards and the play of markets. Since those living under communist regimes are unprepared for the effects of free markets resisting individual reward and failure, reforms are not likely to succeed. The elemental truth of socialism is that while it cannot produce wealth, it can produce a culture of stagnation in which the earnings of one's neighbor are more significant than one's own productivity.

Even the Soviet leaders acknowledge that socialism cannot produce wealth. What is not acknowledged, however, is that free markets do not automatically produce wealth either. A free market merely allows for the expression of ingenuity and products responsive to consumer demand. The key to wealth is ingenuity and productivity, characteristics which certainly exist in the Soviet

Union but are submerged amid egalitarian suppositions. Should the conversion of the Soviet Union actually occur, it would perforce accompany a cultural revolution. If Soviet leaders are serious about emulating the West — a position far more true of recently liberalized Eastern Europe than of the Soviet Union — they will have to come to grips with the inertia and envy more than 70 years of socialism has produced.

However, economic problems evident in Eastern Europe and Soviet admission about its failures do not in themselves add up to the conclusion the Cold War is over and communism as a political force is dead. While there are positive signs in Eastern Europe, the evidence does not yet support "the dawn of a new age." Thousands of Soviet missiles are targeted at the United States. The deployment of a 50 megaton warhead on the SS-18 — in violation of the SALT 1 accord — does not indicate the mitigation of Soviet military ambitions. Figures produced by the CIA for the National Intelligence Estimate indicate an increase of sizable proportions in Soviet nuclear missile deployments, particularly SS-24s — the tenwarhead Soviet equivalent of the U.S. MX — and the single warhead road mobile SS-25. Total Soviet missile warheads (sea and land) have increased by 16 percent in the last year.

Notwithstanding all the hyperbole about the "end of history", to use an expression now attributed to Francis Fukuyama, Soviet missile production and increased deployments have a purpose. There seems to be little doubt that Gorbachev is preparing himself for the next round of arms control talks. Assuming a START formula of 50 percent across-the-board cuts is sustained, the present disparity between the nuclear superpowers would be continued. However, the United States would be obliged to cut half of its weapons deployed in submarines, which is the only invulnerable leg in our strategic triad. Should that submarine cut come to pass, the Soviets would have achieved a major strategic breakthrough.

It might also be noted that the increase in Soviet missile production and deployment was ignored primarily because the West seemed to accept the Kremlin line that economic collapse is imminent and at that point military spending will of necessity be channeled into the consumer economy. So far this redirection of resources hasn't occurred. It certainly shouldn't be forgotten that

while the Soviet economy has been at the point of collapse for more than 70 years that condition hasn't prevented Soviet leaders from threatening the West and enhancing their military capability. One might well ask how a Soviet Union at the point of collapse manages to increase the production of its missile force.

While prudence would suggest a position of intellectual agnosticism, despite the appropriate rejoicing over the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the American fever for good news has been contagious and irresistible. Journalists who were inclined to maintain the Soviet threat was always exaggerated have finally found political solace for their claims. At last Jonathan Schell, Strobe Talbott, Harrison Salisbury, James Chace and their ilk have found vindication. What these avatars of a diminished threat from the East don't realize is that the same unanticipated change of today may be the unanticipated change of tomorrow. History rarely moves in a straight line.

Before one assumes the failure of communism and the emergence of a new order, whatever that may be, judgments about the Soviet Union and its former client states are premature. We certainly have some reason to hope for the best, but our ability to effectuate change is limited. What the intelligencia in the West think of Mikhail Gorbachev is not necessarily shared by those waiting on line for toilet paper in Moscow.

The denial of what is often undermines American foreign policy as much as it inspires ideologicaly intoxicated communists. Our democracy is battered by swings of hope and despair. At the first sign of political liberalization in the Soviet Empire several leaders in Congress are prepared to cut the defense budget by 15 billion dollars. During this era of glasnost and perestroika Soviet defense spending has increased by more than 20 percent. It seems as if Americans are incapable of skepticism. Of course, in the end the optimists may be right about the future, but until the evidence is clear and unequivocal it appears that skepticism is an appropriate attitude.

A haze of wishful thinking engulfs the West today. At every gesture aimed at democratic reform in Eastern Europe, U.S. government leaders see more than is there. We not only hope for the best, we often assume the best. Yet this is neither realistic nor salutary for the climate in which policy is made. Peace is a Western

hope, an ephemeral vision of the naive who, by wishing for something they are unwilling to sacrifice for, often become the duplicitous dupes of their enemy.

Since 1917 the Soviet Union has been an empire whose perceived defensive requirements are insatiable. This insatiability is a function of its own defensive requirements. As long as there is Western strength, the Soviet leaders perceive insecurity. They seemingly cannot be satisfied as long as we can resist their demands and as long as there is unity of purpose in the alliance. That unity manifest in the deployment of Pershing missiles on European soil, Reagan's insistence on increasing defense budgets, modernization of the nuclear triad and an SDI program unquestionably left some impression on the Kremlin's leadership.

Although the dust has not cleared in Eastern Europe and reversible trends could arise, there are a variety of explanations for the apparent political liberalization Gorbachev has sanctioned. It is possible Gorbachev is unwilling to pay the price in bloodshed to restore communist solidarity. It may well be Eastern Europe is a financial burden too high for the Soviet Union to absorb. It may be Gorbachev wants to give the West what it wants in return for untied loans and most favored nation status in trade. And it may be that his decision is part of a strategy to force the United States from the European continent and create a "house of Europe" intimidated by Soviet missiles as threatening behind the Urals as in front of them.

The jury is still out. Even if Gorbachev's motives are malevolent, the national struggles in Eastern Europe could thwart his plans. Similarly, a united Germany firmly ensconced in NATO might alter his strategic vision. But there are dark, sinister clouds on the European horizon that one would be wise to acknowledge. They may bring little more than a Spring shower or they may bring a hurricane of devastating proportions. It would be wise to hope for the best and plan for the worst. It would be prudent to assume that communism has not lost its influence until its missiles are dismantled and its forces demobilized. And it is worth remembering that much we are now celebrating has not yet happened.

Mikhail Gorbachev: Still a Dedicated Marxist-Leninist BY DR. LEWIS A. TAMBS

Dr. Tambs was U.S. Ambassador to Colombia from 1983 to 1985. He was U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica from July 1985 to January 1987. He is an acknowledged expert on the worldwide geo-political situation.

He was a consultant to the National Security Council at the White House prior to his appointment as Ambassador to Colombia and Costa Rica.

Born in Caifornia in 1927, Dr. Tambs received a B.S.I.E. in 1953 from the University of California at Berkeley, an M.A. in 1962 and Ph.D. in 1967 from the University of Caifornia at Santa Barbara. Dr. Tambs served in the United States Army in 1945-47 and in 1950-51.



LEWIS A. TAMBS

Mass euphoria is sweeping over the Western World regarding the prospects for world peace, the end of the Cold War and the impending collapse of the Soviet Empire. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has been hailed by the Western media as the Prince of Peace, the Savior of Mankind, and declared 'Man of the Decade' by Time. He is also rumored to be a covert Christian, a friend of Rev. Sun Myung Moon and a member of the New Age Movement. He and his charming wife, Raisa, have emerged as the most popular political figures of the day. Whether his popularity extends to the Soviet Union is questionable, for Soviet citizens seem to be about evenly divided in their sentiments. Times are hard in the homeland. "The old economic system has collapsed and the new order has yet to appear." Nevertheless, President Gorbachev has strong support from the nomenklatura, the armed forces and the security services.

President Gorbachev has been described as a reformer, a closet liberal, a market socialist and a persistent pragmatist; "A surfer skillfully riding the crest of the wave, dodging, twisting and turning, taking advantage of every ripple, eddy, rush and gush." He has cleverly kept his balance since 1985 and history has recorded the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the apparent advent of democracy and private initiative in Eastern Europe —Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and Rumania; but not yet in the U.S.S.R., as events in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the southern Soviet Republics of Georgia and Moldavia attest. Hence, perhaps prudence should be preached about perestroika and a call for caution might be appropriate regarding glasnost. For President Gorbachev prides himself on being a dedicated Marxist-Leninist. In November, 1989, he declared:

"We are carrying forth a Marxist-Leninism free from layers of dogmatism, staleness and short-sighted considerations. . . . We are returning to Marxist-Leninist roots and creativity, developing it and moving ahead.3"

He continued, stressing that he was dedicated not only to Marx, but to Lenin and that Lenin had pronounced that "peace is a weapon."4 In this vein, President Gorbachev observed that the Bolsheviks had been obliged to make peace with the German Imperial Army at Brest-Litovsk in 1918, abandoning some 56 million subjects in Poland, Finland, the Ukraine and Transcaucasia, areas which contained a significant portion of the former Russian Empire's industry and infrastructure. All of this was surrendered in exchange for freedom of action by the Bolsheviks against the Social Democrats and White Russian counterrevolutionaries in the Civil War. Could we be witnessing in perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) a repetition some seventy years later of Brest-Litovsk? Or the familiar Communist technique of "one step backward, two steps forward?" Or perhaps on a continental scale the traditional Tartar tactic of feigned retreat? For Nicolai Lenin preached perestroika and Joseph Stalin, whom the New York Times hailed as a 'reformer' and 'moderate' when he came to power in 1925, gushed glasnost when they sought Western capital, technology⁵ and scientific skills during the 1920s and 1930s. Here, hence, may be the key to restructuring and openness, for the Soviets may be splendid in space and wonderful in weaponry but their economy is in

shambles,⁶, their technology is deficient and their infrastructure is inadequate.

The decade of the 1980s was disastrous for Soviet designs. Western will and power was revived by President Ronald Reagan and Western technological superiority wedded to a vision of victory in the Cold War was evidenced by four major initiatives.

- 1. The threatened deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI/High Frontier/Star Wars).
- 2. The deployment, albeit briefly, of the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) in Western Europe.
- 3. The sharp technological setback delivered to Soviet arms during the Israeli-Syrian War of 1982.
- The implementation of the Reagan Doctrine which temporarily challenged Soviet successes in the Third World

 Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, Ethiopia, Angola and Nicaragua.

Soviet strategy was stymied. Therefore, they may have returned to their Tartar traditions — feigned retreat — for Eastern Europe had been looted for almost fifty years and was increasingly costly to sustain. Moreover, withdrawal would lull the West into euphoric somnambulance and thus procure Western financial investments and scientific skills while simultaneously neutralizing/Finlandizing Western Europe by dismantling NATO and easing U.S. withdrawal.

Over a thousand years ago Russia was a part of the West — part of Christendom. However, Russia was overrun by the Mongols in the 13th Century and though Tartar dominion of Muscovy lasted only some two centuries, it left an indelible mark on the Slavic soul. Beginning in the year 1242 an Iron Curtain closed over Eastern Europe. The Mongols were dedicated to tribute collection and the control of the caravan chokepoints in the interior Eurasian Continent, similar to the intrusions of the Soviet Fleet into the globe's maritime chokepoints. Mongol military tactics were readopted by the Soviets after the Bolshevik revolution in the year 1917. Moreover, the Mongol political system has been emulated by the nomenklatura. The Tartar state was built upon the principle of unquestioning obedience or submission of the individual to the

group — first to the clan and through the clan to the whole state.

This principle has continued to exist in Russia, be it Mongol, Czarist or Soviet. The Mongols, moreover, introduced the concept that the power of the prince was absolute. This continues with Gorbachev — who has been hailed as the new Tsar — not only with Brezhnev, Stalin and Lenin. The Mongols were noted for their military prowess, not for their productivity. As predators, they built a marvelous military machine using the technology of conquered peoples — Chinese, Indian, Persian, and Iranian. Soviet progress is based upon borrowed, stolen or secondary acquisition of Western technology. Lenin's New Economic Policy, Stalin's first Five Year plan, the looting of Eastern Europe after World War II, detente, perestroika, and glasnost are all part of a pattern.8 Meanwhile, the Soviet military budget continues to climb at five per cent per year as it has done since 1985 and the far-flung outposts of the Soviet overseas empire stand firm.

The worldwide Mongol Sweep continues, aimed at outflanking a failing NATO by driving through Asia, Africa and Latin America, which seeks to encircle on the land side the Peoples' Republic of China, deny the Western industrialized nations access to the oil and ore of the Middle East and southern Africa, while simultaneously isolating the U.S. from its friends and allies in Hispanic America.

Soviet forces are still in Afghanistan where aid averages \$350 to \$400 million a month and the Red Air Force inflicts horrendous losses on the Mujahadeen with high altitude bombing. Direct Soviet aid to Cambodia doubled to \$300 million in 1989 while the Soviet Pacific Squadron, based at Cam Rahn Bay in Viet Nam on the South China Sea, maintains a powerful presence. Oil-rich Iran has steadily moved into the Soviet orbit since 1987 while Iraq, Syria and Ethiopia maintain close ties to Moscow. In strategic mineral-laden southern Africa, Cuban mercenaries, after launching their largest offensive since 1975, continue garrisoning Angola while Namibia and the Republic of South Africa seemingly seek Soviet shelter. In the Americas, Fidel Castro continues in Cuba, having received in February 1990 a shipment of six nuclear-capable MIG-29's in clear violation of the Kennedy-Khrushchev Agreement of 1962 along with abundant military material supposedly for forwarding to Central America. In Nicaragua, the

Sandinistas after receiving \$450 million of Soviet arms in 1989 have given the government to President Violetta Chamorro, but retained power by keeping Comandante Humberto Ortega as Defense Minister. And it is here in Central America where the key clue to President Gorbachev's sincerity in seeking peace and accepting accommodation will come. And it will come in El Salvador. For if Castro's Cuba and Humberto Ortega's Sandinista Army continue to support the Salvadoran insurgents, perestroika and glasnost will be exposed as a Soviet sham and a deliberate delusion.9

Hence, perhaps prudence should be preached about perestroika and caution called for regarding glasnost, for what we may be witnessing is a repeat of the Tartarian tactic of feigned withdrawal as practiced at Brest-Litovsk in 1918 while the massive Mongol Sweep through Asia, Africa and Latin America still surges onward. For as the Soviets shield their southern flank in Afghanistan and Iran their surrogates continue to undermine America's in Central America. Hence, are perestroika and glasnost a Soviet stand down or a Soviet stand to?¹⁰

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Is the Cold War Really Over? BY ROBERT MORRIS



ROBERT MORRIS

Born in Jersey City, New Jersey, Robert Morris graduated from St. Peters College in 1936 and won his J.D. degree from Fordham University Law School in 1939. During World War II, he was a Lt.-Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve. He has been a candidate for the Republican nomination to the United States Senate, both from New Jersey and from Texas, the latter while he was president of the University of Plano.

Dr. Morris is a lawyer, a former judge and has been president of the University of Dallas as well as the University of Plano. He is currently Chairman of the National Committee to Restore Internal Security and Chairman of America's Future, New Rochelle, New York. This text is from his address to A.E.L. on March 21, 1990.

The prevailing consensus in the United States today, almost without challenge, is that Communism is collapsing... that the Cold War is over... and that we have won it. I think this is a misconception that is doing the United States a lot of damage.

It is making things very difficult for President Bush and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to maintain our defense budget at a prudent level. And all of those wonderful organizations that have carried the fight for Freedom through the years are now being deserted because their supporters feel there's no need for them any longer. I take issue with this prevailing mood.

It is true that the ideology — Marxism-Leninism — is a spent force. It was bankrupt from the beginning. In travelling around the world I have found it rejected by many of Moscow's surrogates who have been moving towards limited free market economies to extricate themselves from their Socialist stagnation. But this ideology has never been a threat. Soviet (and Chinese) power is the threat. And that is expanding strategically, militarily and geo-politically!

The U.S.S.R. is producing many more nuclear submarines plus a fleet of four large, modern aircraft carriers. It is adding to its 7,000 merchant ships, outfitted for military use. (We have 360, not so outfitted). During the Reagan Administration we produced only 50 ICBMs; the Soviets produced three new classes — 100 SS24s with 10 warheads each, 130 SS25s and a large number of illegal SS26s.

They are well ahead of us in outer space with two space stations, while we are years from our first. U.S. defense spending has shrunk by 16 percent since 1985 while during the same five years Soviet military expenditures have increased by 25 percent with greater emphasis on new weapons.

Let us look at the situation from the strategic standpoint. In 1988 the Soviet Union produced 250 new missiles and submarine-launch missiles, while we were producing 19. You see, while they were rushing ahead we were almost standing still. The Janes Underwater Warfare Guide pointed out that the U.S.S.R. is producing one nuclear submarine every seven weeks and one conventional submarine every ten weeks. They now have 450 submarines to our 140.

Now, let's bring this picture even closer to the present. I have here a dispatch from Oslo dated January 29th, 1990. I think it brings home the point a little more precisely. It reads, "The Soviet Union, continuing a major modernization of its Navy, has deployed another powerful nuclear submarine with the key Arctic fleet," NATO member Norway said today. "The Soviets now have six Typhoon submarines in Kola. Norway keeps a careful watch on Soviet submarine traffic off its coast. The 20,000 ton Typhoon, the world's largest submarine, is 500 feet long, has a titanium hull and strong fins to smash through the polar ice, so that it can fire its missiles from the surface. It carries SS-20-N nuclear missiles which can strike any point in the United States or Western Europe from Soviet home waters in the Barents Sea." So, is the Soviet threat dead when you have monsters like this being produced at this very moment?

The West has focused mostly on the developments in Eastern Europe and the danger of a conventional invasion by Soviet forces. First of all, that is not the only source of a threat. Another likely direction comes from the Kola Peninsula around Murmansk and

the Norwegian border. In 1986 Sir Patrick Wall, one of Britain's top political strategists, catalogued the composition of a gigantic Soviet buildup on the 120 mile Norwegian border. On the Norwegian side of the border there is a 500-man border guard. And opposing them, said Sir Patrick Wall, are at present seven or eight Soviet land divisions; an airborne division; a naval infantry brigade; 186 submarines; 240 surface ships; 17 major amphibious vessels; a helicopter regiment; 2,000 special Naval forces; and 19 operational airfields.

A Norwegian Captain with whom I had dinner during my late-1989 visit to Norway's North Cape told me, "There's nothing that could stop the Soviet Union at any time from sweeping down the Norwegian Peninsula and outflanking our forces in Western Europe." That is an existing threat; it shows the misconceptions of those who think that, because of Soviet problems in Eastern Europe, there's no need for us to continue military strength on the European Continent.

Now, about merchant ships. We were able to win World War II because we were turning out Liberty ships at the rate of almost one every two weeks. At the end of the war we had more merchant ships than all the nations of the world combined. Today, the Soviet Union has 7,000 merchant ships all equipped for military use, hardened decks, crew members trained in the Soviet Navy, geared for chemical warfare. And on the other hand the United States has 360 flagships, not so outfitted. Many of them are big container ships. So, the Soviets have this powerful array of submarines and a powerful fleet of merchant ships that are ready to intercept us, if we should withdraw forces from Western Europe and later try to respond to any kind of Soviet threat — in other words, the "Finlandization" of Europe.

KGB Chief General Vladimir Khryuchkov, spokesman for the U.S.S.R. at the celebration last November of Lenin's 1917 revolution, said it all: "In military affairs, Perestroika and modernization of Soviet technology under the new economic thinking, and more open East-West trade, will help increase the military might of our country . . . and Soviet disarmament proposals act as solvents to disarm the military-industrial complex of NATO." There you have the truth. That's the purpose of the whole thing!

The 24 countries I listed are, beginning with Castro's Cuba, Ghana, Mali, Tanzania, Algeria, Libya, Congo, Benin, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Madagascar, Sao Tome, Principe, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Seychelles, Nicaragua, Guyana, Guinea Bissau and Surinam. Those are 24 conquests by Liberation armies. And, let's see what's happening today.

For one thing, SWAPO, the hardcore Soviet guerrilla Liberation army, has just conquered strategic Namibia with its 1,000 miles of Atlantic coastline, bringing Soviet power to the northern border of South Africa. Next, it is evident that South Africa is coming to the center of Soviet-led assault. With the release of Nelson Mandela, a whole torrent has been let loose against South Africa.

Unfortunately, through our recognition and acceptance of Mandela, our media and State Department have elevated him to be the spokesman for all of South Africa's black population, although a recent Gallup Poll found conclusively that his supporters represent only about 19% of the black voters in that country.

An ANC-dominated South Africa would be a geo-political disaster for the United States. It would also be a disaster for South African blacks. Communist control in that country, as invariably around the world, would lead to starvation and slavery. And, the strategic minerals of South Africa are utterly indispensable to America's survival as an independent nation, both militarily and industrially. Andy Andrews, head of our Strategic Mineral Commission under President Reagan, said, "Without access to the strategic minerals of Southern Africa, the United States will have to ground our Air Force and close our hospitals and restaurants."

Who is Nelson Mandela? Let's remember that when he was

arrested 27 years ago he had a literal Soviet arsenal in his possession — hand grenades and land mines by the score. And he had with him a 23-page document, written in his own handwriting, titled "How to Be A Good Communist." Today, he calls for continuation of the "armed struggle" against the conciliatory de Klerk government and "nationalization of mines, banks and monopoly business" which the white owners have created and built up over several generations. Yes, Nelson Mandela is a Communist!

Now, let me focus on the most serious, most dangerous misconception of this era — namely, that what has happened in Eastern Europe is a "popular revolution"... the people rising up to shed their chains of bondage. But a careful look at this whole situation indicates something far different: the whole restructuring of Eastern Europe may have been designed by Gorbachev himself! (Gorbachev was sponsored in his rise to power by Yuri Andropov, then head of the KGB and later Secretary General of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party.)

The very term "new thinking" shows that the changes are part of a plan. Gorbachev has had the initiative throughout. And he has been planning a "reform" — that is, the **appearance** of reform . . . and its success is highly exaggerated.

For instance, in Poland, where the changes first began, at that time, the coalition formed was made up of a Communist Defense Minister, a Communist Interior Minister and a Communist Foreign Trade Minister. The rest of the portfolios went to the opposition including the posts that had to raise the financing. So Communist influence still prevails. There are still 40,000 Soviet troops in Poland. All of these Eastern bloc countries are 90% dependent on the U.S.S.R. for their oil. So, when we send financial aid to Poland, Hungary and the other countries, our money is being used to pay for Soviet oil. This is just part of Gorbachev's plan!

I recently met an eye-witness to the breeching of the Berlin Wall. He was there in person. And he told me that the help from the guards — who had previously shot people for even approaching the wall — was so obvious that it had to be planned and approved from the top. We now know that it was Gorbachev who removed Honecker as head of the East German state and Ceausescu in Romania. And it turns out that a fellow named Ilescu is taking

Ceausescu's place — and he's an old buddy of Gorbachev!

In trying to answer the question, "Did the Kremlin engineer the Eastern European reforms?", I came across a quotation from one Anatoly Golitsen, one of the most prominent defectors ever to leave the KGB. And, back in 1984, six years ago, Golitsen flatly predicted "a false liberalization of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, where reforms would be so dazzling that the West would be incapable of retaining a consensus for a strong defense."

Isn't that exactly the trap our liberal Congress is falling into, head-over-heels, today?

And there's another bad trap that we've gotten ourselves into. Back in 1976, the Gerald Ford Administration passed something called the Levi Guidelines. They stripped the FBI of power to monitor the work of domestic Communists or even keep files on them — who they are, where they live, what they're up to. At that time, there were 21,414 files on important Communists in the United States. These files had to be destroyed. After the Levi Guidelines — which have been adopted, basically by subsequent Administrations — nobody can collect files or information on Communists, unless they commit a crime like sabotage or espionage.

And that has given them a free hand and rendered the F.B.I. and all our security forces "blind" in their efforts to maintain internal security. In fact, the Communist Party of the U.S. calls itself the "internal force" or "internal sector" of the World Revolution. Recently the New York Times interviewed Gus Hall, Secretary General, CPUS, who boasted, "We are now more influential than ever, because we are succeeding in convincing the American people that the Soviet Union is no longer a threat."

When asked how many members the U.S. Party has, Gus Hall replied, 20,000 hardcore members with 500,000 sympathizers. And I know from long experience that these people gravitate to positions of influence. They are working to create the image that the Soviet Union is no longer a threat — and that is a very dangerous misconception for the United States.

These unknown people, hiding behind the Levi Guidelines, are a powerful force in American life. We are ignoring them; nobody even thinks about them in the present atmosphere. So I'd like to give you these relevant thoughts:

Given how little we actually know about what's really going on, it would be wise for the West to exercise greater caution in response to the developments in Eastern Europe. We should wait and see how the chips fall before rushing headlong to either disarmament or ill-considered financial support of any of these countries. If Eastern Europe wins genuine freedom we can savor the victory. But if all we are seeing is temporary, limited or false liberalization with behind-the-scenes Kremlin control, we may regret it someday as we awaken to an even greater threat, with no credible deterrent by then to help us resist.

Communist Upheaval — In The Name of Freedom? BY CAPT. G. RUSSELL EVANS

G. Russell Evans has been a close student of world communism since Stalin's takeover of Eastern Europe, authoring numerous essays on Marxism-Leninism and on Soviet intentions and capabilities. He is a retired U.S. Coast Guard captain and aviator, graduate of the Coast Guard Academy and the Naval War College, author of four books, including The Panama Canal Treaties Swindle, Consent to Disaster. He lives in Norfolk, Virginia with wife Anne.



CAPT. G. RUSSELL EVANS

The historic slogans and dogma of Marxism-Leninism, e.g., "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution," have a hollow ring with communism crumbling and freedom breaking out. While great victories for freedom have been won, a number of dangers remain: (1) Soviet military power is on the increase. (2) KGB intelligence-gathering continues full speed. (3) Soviet-supported Cuba still exports communist-brand terrorism. (4) Mikhail Gorbachev could be replaced and his reforms reversed overnight. There are other dangers.

A safe path is needed between the two extremes of accepting the Cold War as already won or rejecting the changes as a giant hoax.

Prudence requires a middle road, including continued U.S. military strength and a vigilant foreign policy.

Seventy-two years of communism have brought the Soviets corruption and inefficiency, exacerbated by concentration on military goods at the expense of consumer goods, all resulting in the 1990 political and economic crisis. Only the elite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are served in the marketplace, while the farmers and other workers suffer shortages. In addition, the crisis worsens and non-Russian republics are in revolt with demands for independence and freedom that the Soviet Union cannot easily meet. Azerbaijan and Lithuania are prime examples of unrest.

Admissions of errors and shortcomings do not come easy for communists. Nonetheless, the crisis is real and requires changes if the USSR is to survive as a world power. Last year Andrey A. Kokoshin, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences, recognized that drastic measures were needed. He said:

"Currently we are given an almost last chance of retaining our position as a great power and reorganizing this position on a new basis, in accordance with new parameters, above all by relying on socio-economic, legal, cultural, and spiritual components." Comrade Kokoshin was calling for economic help from the West.

In a televised speech in September 1989, Gorbachev called his situation "not simple." He deplored the scarcity of consumer goods, ethnic conflicts and painful distortions. He asked for "renewal of socialism." The Soviet worker, at the bottom of the pecking order, has a slogan for the socialist economy: "They pretend to pay us; we pretend to work."

In simple terms, socialism is failing in its new openness (glasnost) because it uses free enterprise initiatives with old style communist controls. It is doomed. The rulers cannot accept free enterprise's system of checks and balances, but rather hold onto socialism's system of "want and privilege." Consequently, the workers are betrayed, and the Soviet-controlled trade unions do not protect workers' interests, but instead press for greater productivity. With little incentive to produce and with the factories run by the Party, workers blame shortages on "them," the

privileged class, because "they" are the real owners of the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev has a myriad of problems, all coming simultaneously: improve production, establish special free enterprise zones, placate workers and restore the rights of the Soviet Germans, the Crimean Tatars, the Georgians and dozens of other minorities all under the umbrella of a revitalized Soviet Socialist Republic.

This is an impossible task, considering the diverse interests of the people, the focus of world attention on the evolving Soviet system, and the taste of freedom that has finally come to the people. Even Mikhail Gorbachev cannot handle this complex task. These are some of the reasons for the failure of communism. Therefore, unless we are to have a return of barbaric totalitarianism, Soviet Republics and satellites must have the freedom to solve their own ethnic and economic problems — a chance at free enterprise.

For three-quarters of a century, the Soviet system has been a failure. Communism failed because it is a decadent theory and the people never respected its principles or its leaders. It is a system of privilege and pretense. "It is yearnings," said Ebenezer Elliott ("Epigram,' Poetic Works, 1840), "for equal division of unequal earnings." And said Adlai Stevenson in a 1951 speech at Urbana, Illinois, "Communism is the corruption of a dream of justice."

Clearly communism would fail miserably if the West did not prop it up. But with the West's technological and economic assistance, communism can hang on. It is the media and the internationalists who would help the Soviet Union recover from economic and social disaster — all in the name of democracy — ignoring the reality that there has been no reduction in Soviet military capabilities, no change in the offensive nature of the Kremlin bosses, and every reason to expect continued intimidation of Western Europe until it is neutralized. With Western Europe neutralized, the Soviets' "one step backward" will become "two steps forward" and, in effect, "victory without the pain of war."

Therefore, why should the United States help the charming and cunning Mr. Gorbachev solve his problems while he continuees to increase his offensive military arsenal at the annual rate of 10 nuclear submarines, 700 combat aircraft and 4,200 tanks, to

identify a few? It makes no sense.

Indeed, the USSR spends almost 25 percent of its gross national product on its military as compared with 6 percent for the U.S. The Soviets outproduce us 6 to 1 militarily and have in place 8 times as many ICBMs, twice as many submarines and almost 20 times as many merchant vessels outfitted for naval use.⁴

Does this sound like a "peace dividend"... or stacked intimidation? Treaties or not, bankrupt or not, the Soviets are not disarming. They are modernizing. So, why are we propping them up? The true character of the communists was proven in Tienanmen Square.

Equally threatening are the Gorbachev-directed "National Liberation Forces," spreading Soviet power worldwide: for example, the Revolutionary Armed Forces Organization (FARC) and the dreaded M-19s in Colombia; the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) in Peru; and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, to name a few of the tens of others advancing communism around the world.⁵ The media delight in calling these communist groups "fighters for independence", when in truth they are fighters for communism, which is not dead.

The NATO alliance has deterred war for 40 years, and now faces the problem of apathy as a consequence of glasnost and perestroika, particularly in Western Europe where new generations of citizens never knew the horrors of war. They take freedom for granted, and unfortunately have not really sacrificed for it. Gorbachev has convinced them he's as harmless as a folk hero. But is he? One of Gorbachev's greatest victories is psychological: He has persuaded Western Europeans that there is no need to resist him, no need to build defenses, but rather to enjoy the new "peace dividend."

The argument has been made that the peoples of the captive nations, such as Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland, may not be able to handle freedom because for over 40 years they have been accustomed to government controls and a welfare state, that they may not want the responsibilities of decisions and may vote for socialist programs in their new governments. Not necessarily true. Freedom is too precious a commodity to be squandered away for temporary conveniences. Moreover, "Freedom suppressed and

again regained bites with keener fangs than freedom never endangered" (Cicero, De Officiis).

If given a chance, the people can handle their freedom. The danger lies in the apparent Soviet scheme of granting "freedom" so the West can rush in with huge grants and loans to insure the success of the new "democracy." Then, when a degree of economic stability has been established, the communists/socialists, still occupying key roles in the government, will be in position to clamp on totalitarianism once again, if they so choose. And Uncle Sam will once again have been mouse-trapped. Only time will tell about this scenario.

Poland may yet prove to be a prime example of treachery. Communist General Wojiech Jaruzelski is still president, and as such, holds the power to dismiss Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, dissolve Parliament and declare martial law. If one thinks democracy has arrived in Poland, consider that the Soviets suspended visa-free travel for Poles during the Lithuanian insurrection. And if anyone thinks freedom has arrived in Lithuania, consider Gorbachev's armoured vehicles rumbling down the main street of Vilnius at 4 A.M. on Friday, March 23, 1990.

In Poland, the communists control the army, the police, the courts and the local governments. Where is the freedom? Lech Walesa, one should note, although a popular labor leader, maintains ties with the communists and has screened out hard-line patriots from the Polish labor movement. So, while communists make a big show of backing down, they still hold the guns and the power.

Other examples are Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany where the communists control the top 20 percent of government leadership roles and are committed to the Warsaw Pact and Moscow. The media gloss over these points, happily reporting that only 20 percent in these governments are communist. But, this 20 percent holds the guns and the power, and the capability to restore totalitarianism.⁶

A reunified German state appears inevitable. A neutral Germany, however, is unacceptable to the United States and to NATO, but has been a long-time objective of the Soviets. Indeed, for the USSR, German neutrality has been "an article of faith ever

since Stalin's days." The reason is simple: the level plains of Germany provide natural access routes for the Soviet military into Western Europe; and a neutralized Western Europe is another major Soviet goal. Therefore, Gorbachev wants a unified and neutral Germany along with a neutral Western Europe for strategic reasons — not to advance democracy. The United States wants a unified Germany as a strong ally in NATO. The key to resolution of these conflicting objectives depends, to a large extent, on the political backing of Chancellor Helmut Kohl in both West and East Germany. Time will tell.

Glasnost and perestroika are designed for the advance of revitalized socialism, and are potential booby traps for the West. Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker does not think communism is dead. On January 7, 1990, he told the San Jose Mercury News:

"To speak of Communism as ended . . . is absurd. This concept of a profoundly democratic society . . . is immortal. **Perestroika** does not represent abandonment of Communism but purification."

Neither does Mikhail Gorbachev abandon Communism. He told the comrades recently in a major speech, "We shall never turn off that road," adding, "Fight for freedom, without even for a minute abandoning the idea of socialism."

It is a paradox, however, to equate freedom with socialism until we note Lenin's style of freedom: "Only in communist society... when the capitalists have disappeared, only then does it become possible to speak of freedom." Thus, communist "freedom" is different. The communist system floods subsidies into state-run industries and to managers and workers, causing cover-up and stagnation. Other results have been inflation and shortages — a perfect formula for economic gridlock and proof of a failed system.

In 1990, along with revolts in the colonies, Gorbachev faced internal pressure to cut subsidies and other outlays, including those for arms, satellites and revolutionary movements. This was the cue for Western investors to step in with high-tech products and "joint ventures" in Soviet-run enterprises — all in the name of democracy.

By helping Gorbachev succeed, the West would relieve pressure

for real reform and assist the increase in Soviet arms and global revolution, adding to the hazards of genuine freedom, for example:

- 1. With Western technology, the Soviets enhance their war machine and support for occupying military forces; and they sustain their military-industrial complex with the net result that the West conducts an arms race against itself.
- 2. The West could lose its investment, as the Soviet-bloc nations are poor credit risks, now in default from loans of World Wars I and II to the tune of over \$84 billion.
- 3. Any trade credits with the Soviet Union help resolve the dilemma in the USSR between military spending and consumer goods. Western trade on credit simply helps strengthen the Soviet military forces.⁹

The U.S. State Department and White House, however, are not listening. Pressure for more and more credits for Moscow is increasing — all in the interests of more and more **perestroika** for Mikhail. The security of the West is best served by refusing to bail out the communists and letting them sink to the level that a failed and repressive system deserves.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. Andrey A. Kokoshin, Deputy Director, USSR Academy of Sciences, "Lessons Learned from the Destinies of Great Powers," Kommunist, No. 2, January 1989.
- Herbert Romerstein, "In Crisis: The Rulers of the Soviet Union," International Freedom Review, Winter 1990, p. 67.
- 3. General Bernard W. Rogers, former Supreme Allied Commander Europe, "The Soviet Goal Remains Domination of the World," address before the Americanism Educational League
- 4. U.S. Department of Defense, Soviet Military Power 1988.
- 5. Robert Morris, Our Globe Under Siege III (Mantoloking, N.J.: J & W Enterprises, 1988), pp. 166, 170, 171.
- 6. West Watch, Jan./Feb. 1990, Council for Inter-American Security.
- 7. James L. Groff, "Anything to Fear," Time, March 26, 1990, pp. 42, 47.
- 8. V.I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution," Selected Works (New York: International Publishers, 1937), Vol. 7, p. 81.
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Communism: The Still Deadly Failure BY DR. R.G. BREENE, JR.

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DR. R.G. BREENE, JR.

In about the year 2667 BC, the Third Dynasty Horus Netjerykhet, King Djoser, assumed the Egyptian paraphernalia of royalty, and perhaps the first of those great cultures which have characterized humanity during the last 5,000 years came into being. It was followed by various remarkable, if analogous, phenomena at various other locations, the unique Graeco-Roman polis-culture, so beloved in the West, surfacing when King Nestor from Pylos, King Agamemnon from Mycenae, King Menelaus from Tiryns, and all those others from Homer's demonstrably historical work sailed for Troy in about 1100 BC. During these five millenia, the whole gamut of philosophico-political forms — oligarchical, aristocratic, monarchial, democratic, and so on — has appeared again and again.

With logical, aberrational exceptions, all of these political forms have been successful in the sense that they have been generally accepted by the peoples who have lived under them. In this regard, one of the great myths of the 20th century has arisen around the monarchy of the Russian czar, a myth amusingly refuted, for example, when, in 1941, the denizens of a Russian hamlet asked the panzer recon commander, Hans von Luck, about "our little

father, the czar."

In this same 20th century, however, we have been witness to the rise of a political system — Communism — which has been an abject failure during the entirety of the 73 years since it first seized power. There are readily-identifiable reasons for the failure of Communism, reasons which have been all too seldom discussed, but it is important to define this alleged "philosophico-political system" before discussing them.

Marxism-Leninism: Communism is, of course, Marxism-Leninism. If these two terms are defined realistically, this statement is considerably more meaningful than it otherwise might appear to be.

Heinrich Karl Marx, in a letter to his son-in-law, Paul Lefargue, wrote, "One thing is certain, I am not a Marxist," a remark which would be even more cogent today. The caveats implied can, however, be avoided by couching a definition in the following general terms: The "left-Hegelian," Marx, combined Hegel's dialectic with Feuerbach's materialism in order to arrive at his "five-stage theory" of history, the fourth stage of which is supposedly capitalism, the fifth and inevitable stage, communism. This simplistic "theory" of history uses the Hegelian dialectic in order to "explain" this progression of human society through five stages. This can be illustrated by using Marx's scenario for the passage from capitalism to communism. In so doing, no attempt need be made to detail the mumbo jumbo of the driving force: "economic superstructures," "material production forces," and so on.

"Capitalism" — or the possessors of the means of production, the bourgeoisie — is taken as the Hegelian "thesis," "proletarianism" as the "antithesis," Between the thesis and the antithesis, Hegel had decreed in innate dialectical interaction, a struggle, from which would arise a "synthesis," here communism. In evolving the "four stages" of history preceding communism, the synthesis point had allegedly evolved into a new thesis point from which the dialectical process continued. Not so with the fifth stage, however, since one can hardly exceed ultimate perfection. Such is dialectical materialism, the essence of Marxism. Did Heinrich Karl Marx really believe his own theory? In any case, it certainly made him the most renowned of the left-Hegelians, heady medicine for the

philosopher, and here provides the requisite definition of Marxism.

Gen. Erich von Ludendorff found Vladimir Ilich Ulianov (alias Lenin) in Zurich with a considerable collection of his "professional revolutionaries," trained in the revolutionary schools of Capri and Longjumeau, and waiting for "work." Which von Ludendorff provided by shipping this gaggle of terrorists into Russia since "it was indispensable for the German war effort that Russia be overthown." Von Ludendorff's tactics were successful, and Ulianov seized power in Russia. Immediately upon his seizure of power, he proclaimed the doctrine of Weltoktober, the extension of the October Revolution to the entire world. Dzugashvili (alias Joseph Stalin) would attempt to foist other definitions of "Leninism" upon a gullible world, but the essence of Leninism is Weltoktober. Therefore: Communism is a dialectical-materialist Weltoktober.

Deceit, terror, criminality — these are the basic attributes of Communism. Of the three, deceit, which would begin by denying the other two, deserves first treatment. And first among the various levels of deceit which characterize this political aberration is the fact that its leaders, its promulgators do not believe in its credo (dialectical materialism). For these "international gangsters," Marxism is a philosophical excuse for their personal seizure of power, not a creed in which they truly believe. As the former folk-hero of international Communism, Milovan Djilas, has put it, the true Communist objective has always been the seizure of power and the perquisites of power, the creation of a New Class, of a Communist aristocracy. Not long after these terrorist politicians had first seized power, Dzugashvili's secretary, Boris Bajanov, fled in disgust, and the outside world learned of Dzugashvili and the Romanov jewels. About 70 years later, a Nicaraguan defector would tell of Humberto Ortega and his Swiss bank accounts. The time between these two reports is replete with similar ones by a parade of disenchanted defectors. It has all been summarized by one of the most recent and most important of these, Arkady Schevchenko:

"... the divinity before which the Kremlin rulers bowed was their own power and the maximal satisfaction of their personal requirements and those of the privileged upper [Communist] class." A gullible West has recently been treated to the spectacle of the KGB meeting with certain U.S. intel organizations in order to discuss opposition to terrorism. This is in precise analogy to a 1930 meeting (which did not take place) between the F.B.I. and the Al Capone organization to discuss the prevention of bootlegging. For terrorism has been the cornerstone of Soviet (Communist) foreign and domestic policy from the beginning. In What Is To Be Done? (1905), Ulianov glows at having been compared to Naradnaya Volya (The People's Will), the first terrorist organization. During and after his seizure of power, he suited action to word. Domestically, his attitude is summed up in his 1922 letter to Commissar for Justice Kurskii: "The law should not abolish terror . . . it should be substantiated and legalized in principle."

His foreign view is characterized by his 1920 dispatch of Mohammed Ashur and a gaggle of bomb-carrying terrorists to British India. Nor has the terror policy changed over the intervening years. At this moment Communist terror organizations exist in this hemisphere from Tierra del Fuego to the Mexican border. In Chile, the FPMR (Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front) is an elemental bomb-toting terror group, as is the Sendero Luminoso in Peru, the EPL (Peoples' Liberation Army) and several others in Colombia. And in El Salvador, the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) should never be lionized by the term "guerrilla"; these are simple terrorists, as the author can testify from several years observation, terrorists whose principal weapon is the "foot-blower" bomb, whose principal victims are the children of the benighted country, its women and its other non-combatants. Failing to achieve any level of success in winning the hearts and minds of any peoples, Communism has, from its beginnings, used terror as its weapon for gaining and maintaining that power for its elite, which is its objective.

Deceit, terror, and, finally, criminality. According to the patron saint of Communism, Ulianov, it is quite proper to do "... anything to hasten the coming to power of Communism" (What Is To Be Done?). Murder and bank robbery, considered as criminality in civilized societies, are so common amongst Communist aspirants to power as seldom even to deserve mention. Dzugashvili, who doubled as an informer for the Czarist police, once felled 100 people in his robbery of the Bank of Tiflis, while

Josip Broz (alias Tito) began his "revolutionary activities" with an assault on the Bank of Argentina. The Ortega brothers of Nicaragua made bank robbery a literal *modus vivendi*. Today, when the "war on drugs" is receiving worldwide attention, the deliberate, planned involvement of international Communism in worldwide narcotrafficking merits particular attention.

The author of this chapter has published a short summary of Communist involvement in narcotrafficking ("U.S. Troops and the Colombian 'Drug' War," Officer Review, October 1989), while Crozier (The Gorbachev Phenomenon, Claridge Press: 1990) and Douglass (Red Cocaine: The Drugging of America, Clarion House: 1990) have treated the subject in extenso.

When the Chicoms tooks power on the Asian mainland in 1949, they immediately and deliberately began the organization and promotion of opium-poppy cultivation, heroin refining, and the worldwide distribution of the resulting narcotic. The objective was the use of narcotics as one more weapon against the "capitalist-imperialist" powers. In 1962, after a six-year period of preparation, the Soviet Union also entered international narcotrafficking. Today in Latin America, international Communism is the most important protector and sponsor of coca-leaf cultivation and cocaine production. It has established an elaborate network for its narcotics distribution, a network which relies strongly on Castroite Cuba.

Deceit, terror, and criminality are thus the hallmarks of that political aberration, Communism. Small wonder then that this bizarre doctrine should be the abject failure which it has proven itself to be. That it has failed to capture the minds and hearts of the people under its thrall has recently been proven by a series of dramatic events in Eastern Europe, events which it is too early to intelligently assess. But this does not mean that Communism, guilty of more barbarism than any political movement in the history of the world, no longer poses a danger to what remains of the free world.

Failed but dangerous: Not only has the Communism aristocracy been a consistent failure in the sense of its inability to capture the hearts and minds of its subjects, it has also been an abject and predictable failure in developing that collectivist economic system which would be capable of carrying out its *Weltoktober*. Time and

again, it has been forced to turn to an ever-gullible West for economic assistance so that it could continue this program of world conquest. Six times a gigantic disinformation operation has been successfully mounted from the Kremlin to the effect that "Communism is mellowing," and six times the "capitalist-imperialist" nations of the West have saved the Communist aristocracy from extinction at the cost of no one knows how many millions of innocent lives.

The first of these bail-outs was as a result of Ulianov's NEP (New Economic Policy) in 1921, the third Dzugashvili's abolition—actually a mere transfer—of the Comintern in 1943, the fifth Khrushchev's Peaceful Coexistence in 1961, and the sixth Gorbachev's Glasper (glasnost-perestroika). On each occasion, an incredibly myopic West has accepted what is nothing less than the Communist thesis—that nastier Communists will take over if economic aid is not forthcoming—and propped up its failing mortal enemy. At present the world is in the grip of another of these operations, Glasper. In the midst of this alleged "mellowing," Communist support of "liberation revolutions," the contemporary euphemism for Communist wars of conquest, in Latin America has shown no signs of decreasing.

From Tierra del Fuego to Guatemala, Communism is actively supporting guerrilla-terrorist campaigns in virtually every nation of this hemisphere. While Gorbachev protests his innocence of any such support, his protegee, Yakovlev, operates through the Americas Department of the Central Committee, Cuban CP, to train, supply and support these terrorist operations. A case very much in point is that of the media-event "offensive" to which the FMLN, with large numbers of Cuban and Nicaraguan auxiliaries, subjected long-suffering El Salvador in the late fall of 1989.

Communism has proven itself a failure during every one of the 73 years of its political power. It has been a failure insofar as capturing the hearts and minds of its subjects is concerned; it has been a failure in its inability even to survive without immense support from its "capitalist-imperialist" enemies, the free West. But it remains a dangerous failure, especially in Latin America, and it can be counted upon to be a dangerous failure globally as soon as the free world has once again set the USSR upon its economic feet.

If the past is indeed prologue, it will apparently be necessary for

Weltoktober — Communist world conquest — to be completed, with Western support and with the immense human suffering which this is certain to entail, before this political aberration can finally be expected to sink beneath the weight of its own endemic failure.

Lest We Be Deceived: Communism is Not Dead BY ERIC BRODIN

Eric Brodin is a native of Gothenburg, Sweden, where he grew up in the shadows of its harbor, son of a merchant marine officer. In his teens, he came to America, studying at Berkeley High School in California. After graduation from San Francisco State University, he served as western director of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, later becoming a visiting scholar at Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and at the Heritage Foundation. From 1980-88, he was Lundy Professor of Business Philosophy at Campbell University in North Carolina. Today he is Director of the Foundation for International Studies at Buies Creek. North Carolina.



ERIC BRODIN

During the last several years a debate has raged among the creators of U.S. and Western foreign policies as to whether Communism is dead. To realistic observers it has been known for some time that as an ideology it has found few believers, with the possible exception of the parlor-proletarians who have never felt the consequences of living under a Marxist system. Moreover, you find no faith in Marxism/Communism wherever people have been forced to live in the societies ostensibly created on the basis of Marx'ideas as interpreted by Stalin and Lenin, the exercise of raw political power.

What we are seeing in Eastern and Central Europe today is a

distancing from the ideological roots in Marx' and Lenin's ideas, or the attempt by Mikhail Gorbachev to resurrect what he chooses to call Leninism. Alan Aganbegyan expressed this historic revisionism as follows: "Today... Soviet planners are returning to the Leninist principles of building a socialistic economy, but now interpret them in the new context of social progress and scientific-technical revolution. The Soviet economy will remain essentially a socialist economy..."

It need not be emphasized that a Leninist economy is just as unworkable as any named after his successors. The establishment of a New Economic Policy (NEP) was merely a tactical and temporary move which in his own words in 1921, "As soon as we are strong enough to overthrow capitalism we shall seize it by the throat." During the Second World War Stalin spoke in similar terms in order to obtain allied aid. Krushchev launched his anti-Stalin campaign, signifying a brief period of reforms soon followed by a crackdown on ideological dissidents.

The unambiguous strategy of one step backwards and two steps forward has served the Kremlin rulers well, being an ideological version of the Potemkin facades with which Catherine the Great could delude Western visitors. In 1973 Leonid Brezhnev stated his aims quite clearly: "We Communists have got to string along with the capitalists for a while. We need their credits, their agriculture, their technology . . . but we are going to continue massive military programmes and by the middle of the '80s we will be in a position to return to a much more aggressive foreign policy designed to gain the upper hand in our relationship with the West."

Under Mikhail Gorbachev we have seen a more far-reaching exposition of the policy of reform and altered appearances, even to the extent of calling for a multi-party pseudo-democratic government. The Marxist ideology may have, at least for the moment, been abandoned. What is not abandoned is the immense centers of power in the form of subversion and military strength. The West needs to temper its enthusiasm for these reforms until it is evident that the centers of power by which Communism has controlled its peoples have been dismantled and we have verifiable evidence that this indeed has taken place. President Reagan was fond of saying to Gorbachev "doverai no proverai" (trust but verify). Perhaps the order should be reversed, proverai no deverai.

One of the main problems in our relationship with Communist powers is the child-like faith we have in their utterances. We are celebrating the end of the Cold War while there is much evidence that it is still going on; we are cashing in on a Peace Dividend before we have received evidence that there is indeed any such dividend to collect. Such premature burial of Communism has been going on throughout the years since the Second World War. George Kennan, who is credited with being the author of the postwar policy of containment, declared early on, "What we are witnessing today in Russia is the break-up of much, if not all, of the system of power by which that country has been held together and governed since 1917." But we have not seen any such break-down of the infrastructure of power; it is still in place and available at the bidding of the **nomenklatura**.

The current beliefs among many Soviet specialists with anti-Communist credentials is that the touted reforms are yet another tactical maneuver in order to obtain desperately needed help from the West. John Lenczowski is one of these skeptics who find the rapid domino-effect of Communists being ousted just a little disturbing, as it gives evidence of having been orchestrated in Moscow and has the approval of the author of glasnost and perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev himself.

What the West in general and the United States in particular need to do is to re-evaluate a policy which seems to be based more on idealistic hopes for peace than the realpolitik needed in a nation which is still the leader of the Free World. We do not need to go to such euphoric policies before we have determined how much these ostensible peace policies really mean — the democratization in the Communist world and the verified abandonment of the military arsenal of the Soviet Union throughout the world. Already the U.S. Congress talks about providing Poland and other Central European nations with Most Favored Nations treatment; the President has lifted the U.S. restrictions on the sale of sophisticated IBM machines. U.S. has done this based on high hopes and euphoric assumptions.

If disarmament and a reduction of warfare materiel are evidence of **glasnost** and **perestroika** as a Soviet policy, we have seen nothing of that. As of this writing (April, 1990) there has been no reduction of Soviet troops in Europe; they are still 500,000 strong.

The INF treaty which was signed by President Reagan and Chairman Gorbachev called for the dismantling of 225 stored missiles, only ten per cent of those which the Soviet has, according to U.S. intelligence officials. And there is only a 20 per cent probability of detecting illegally deployed Soviet SS-20s even with our modern satellite detection systems.

The Soviet troops may have withdrawn from Afghan soil, but the puppet regime in Kabul is getting more sophisticated military materiel than ever before, estimated at a cost of \$400,000 a month. With remarkable ingenuity Gorbachev in his justification sent to Cuba advanced MiG-39 Fulcrum jet-fighters "for defensive purposes." The world's largest military port installation in Murmansk on the Kola peninsula is still in fervent activity as are the 400,000 Soviet citizens living on Murmansk and the one million in the peninsula as a whole.

We have heard that the "reforms" mean a withdrawal of military hardware from Europe. When they are withdrawn they are merely replaced with more modern and more efficient materials. And the Defense Department's study Soviet Military Power 1989 confirms that even given the reduction of Warsaw Pact forces, by the end of 1990 its strength will still outweigh NATO's by nearly three to one in ground divisions, 2.5 to one in tanks, and two to one in artillery pieces.

Despite the economic bankruptcy in which the Soviet Union finds itself today, the defense budget (as far as we are able to determine in the West) remains a top priority for the Kremlin rulers. Between 1961-1970 it was \$157 billion annually; 1971-1980, it was \$233 billion, or 15 percent of the total Soviet budget.

Yet it would appear that the U.S. Department of State and some White House presidential advisors have been taken in by the practiced blandishment of deception by the Kremlin master of disarming disingenuity. This process of disinformation has been strongly supported by a large part of our print and electronic media. After an editorial entitled "The Cold War Is Over" appeared in The New York Times, David J. Trachtenberg, a senior defense analyst, responded:

"In an eagerness to be in vogue, your editorial . . . fails to consider that developments in Soviet foreign policy may represent mere tactical shifts . . . rather than real changes in

Soviet strategy or goals . . . The real question, which you never raise, is whether Soviet foreign policy 'reforms' are genuine or a ruse. Given past history, the burden of proof lies with those who contend the former."

For too long the West has failed to foresee the consequences of danger because its vision has been obscured by its ability to see only what it wants to see. We have been deceived by a self-deception which was begun by Franklin D. Roosevelt's inane view that he could charm Stalin away from his evil ways. The western leaders of Europe have seldom read The Communist Manifesto, or Das Kapital, and even less of Hitler's Mein Kampf. Yet in these books the authors have clearly laid down the rules by which they would like to see Europe (and the world) governed.

Why should we not believe Gorbachev today when in his book Perestroika he has clearly said: "To put an end to all the rumours and speculation that abound in the West about this, I would like to point out once again that we are conducting our reforms in according with the socialist choice. We are looking within socialism, rather than outside . . . Those who hope that we shall move away from the socialist path will be greatly disappointed." The editor of The New Republic Charles Krauthammer emphasizes: "The goal of Gorbachev's foreign policy is not to end the Cold War... but to continue the struggle with the subtlety and finesse that befit the modern man he is."

Lenin once wrote a book entitled "What Is To Be Done?" That is a book which deserves serious attention today, as we are living in an age with rapid changes both in the Communist and the social democratic world. If we are taken in by the peace and reform overtures of the Soviet Union's modern P.R. masters, we do so with a possibility of tremendous consequences for our and our children's future. Time and again the West has misread the intentions of the enemy masquerading in detente's clothing. Time and time again a generation of peoples have had to pay for it. The terrors of the post-world war relocations and the brutal suppression of basic human rights in Eastern and Central Europe, in Viet Nam and in Korea, are the direct results of western inability to understand the totalitarian mind. It is important that we understand the errors we have made in our recent history, lest we commit them once again.

There are important and well-informed voices of warning. James Binder, the editor-in-chief of the Association of the U.S. Army organ Army warns us in these words: "A danger is that the euphoria over Mr. Gorbachev's initiatives, the triumphs of the freedom movements in the Soviet satellites and a resurgence of "reduce-defense" sentiments could touch off a landslide that could cripple the services' ability to support U.S. security interests . . . the most dangerous threat facing us is that we could get carried away by the siren strains of 'cut defense'. Whether respite or truly the beginning of the end of the Cold War, we live in a dangerous world that doesn't allow time to reload if we make a mistake."

If we base our foreign relations and policy on wishful thinking rather than on things as they are; if we disarm in the mistaken notion that "peace has sprung out all over;" if we bequeath to our children the same policies which prepared us for the Second World War; if we fail to see the signs of the false views our fervent hopes for peace have invented, we may some day in the future have to face our descendants' question — Why?

General John Galvin, commander of the allied forces in Europe, has warned up to 'keep our powder dry.' because in USSR, he said: "I'm looking for a reduction in military production, a reduction in concrete military capabilities. Intentions can change overnight. Is it too much to ask the West to learn the lessons of the past and apply them to the policies of the present time and the future? This traditional historic amnesia is what Moscow may be counting on in the coming period. Whether we serve the purposes of our own best values or make them hostage to the good will of our adversaries is entirely up to us."

We have been challenged. The question is no longer whether Communism works or not. As long as the vast arsenals of power remain at the behest of the rulers of the Kremlin or their minions in Havana or else in the world, the danger is awesomely real. We cannot afford to ignore the wisdom of the old maxim that "the price of peace is eternal vigilance."

While Communism may be bankrupt in its ideology, the important thing for us to remember is that as long as that empire of evil expansionism exists we have the obligation to vouchsafe for our children and our children's children the understanding that only peace through strength can assure us of a life in a home-land which is to us and to the world, "a shining city on a hill."

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